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 INFO RUSBAE/AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 2061
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VIENNA FOR USIAEA

F.9. 12065: RDS-2 3/29/80 (HUMMEL, A.W.) OR-M
 TAGS: PK PARM MNUC TECH PGOV
 SUBJECT: (C) NON-PROLIFERATION POLICY ASSESSMENT

REF: (A) STATE 68365

1. (S) -ENTIRE TEXT

2. WE APOLOGIZE FOR THE DELAY IN RESPONDING TO REPTTEL. THE EMBASSY'S VIEWS ON GOP ATTITUDES AND POLICIES IN THE NUCLEAR AREA HAS BEEN THE FOCUS OF EXHAUSTIVE REPORTING FOR SOME TIME; THIS MESSAGE WILL NOT DUPLICATE WHAT IS ALREADY WELL-KNOWN IN DEPARTMENT BUT WILL CONFINE ITSELF TO A GENERAL OVERVIEW OF THIS CONTENTIOUS ISSUE IN OUR RELATIONS AND THEN ANSWER BRIEFLY SOME OF THE QUESTIONS RAISED IN PARA 3 OF REPTTEL.

3. PERHAPS THE MOST STRIKING FEATURE OF PAKISTANI ATTITUDES TOWARD NON-PROLIFERATION ISSUES AND U.S. POLICY IN PARTICULAR IS THEIR NARROW INTELLECTUAL CONCEPTION OF PRESENT AND FUTURE DANGERS POSED TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY BY THE PROLIFERATION HAZARDS OF SENSITIVE NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY. DESPITE FAIRLY ACTIVE AND HELPFUL GOP DIPLOMACY ON MULTI-LATERAL DISARMAMENT ISSUES, THE PUBLIC DIALOGUE ON NUCLEAR ENERGY IN PAKISTAN IS ALMOST TOTALLY INNOCENT OF ANY REFLECTION ON ITS RELATION TO THE NEED FOR AN EVOLUTIONARY NUCLEA REGIME THAT CAN ACCOMMODATE THE NEXT GENERATION OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY AND REDUCE THE DANGERS OF ITS WIDESPREAD USE. CONSEQUENTLY, THE INTERNATIONAL NUCLEAR FUEL CYCLE EVALUATION (INFCE) HAS RECEIVED SANT ATTENTION HERE, EITHER OFFICIALLY OR IN THE MEDIA.

4. CONVERSELY, PAKISTANIS PAY A GREAT DEAL OF ATTENTION TO THERI PAROCHIAL NUCLEAR CONCERNS. DESPITE THE CCNTINUAL AND FAMILIAR PROTESTATIONS OF THE GOP, THE NUCLEARL ISSUE IS WIDELY PERCEIVED BY THE PUBLIC HERE, IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, AS A MATTER OF NATIONAL SECURITY. FEW REASONABLY CONVERSANT PAKISTANIS WILL ATTEMPT TO DENY THAT THE

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DEF 18.6 NPT ASSESSMENT

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PAKISTANI NUCLEAR EFFORT IS GEARED MAINLY TO ASSURING THAT THIS NATION WILL NOT SUFFER ANY GREATER STRATEGIC DISADVANTAGE VIS-A-VIS INDIA. IN THIS RESPECT, U.S. POLICY, INCLUDING ITS STRONG FOCUS ON INFCE, IS PROFOUNDLY AT ODDS WITH THAT OF PAKISTAN. (FYI: THIS CONFLICT MAY BE MISUNDERSTOOD BY THE AVERAGE NEWSPAPER READER HERE; WE DOUBT, HOWEVER, THAT THE SENIOR-MOST DECISION MAKERS IN THE GOP HANDLING NUCLEAR ISSUES ARE IGNORANT OF THE IMPACT THEIR DECISIONS CONTINUE TO HAVE ON OUR RELATIONS). FOR EXAMPLE, THE NOTION THAT NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL ACCESS TO SENSITIVE NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY SHOULD BE PAGED BY THE ECONOMIC, TECHNICAL, AND SCIENTIFIC MERITS OF THE INVESTMENT IS SIMPLY IRRELEVANT TO PAKISTAN; FOR THE GOP, THE DECISION PARAMERTERS ARE FAR MORE HEAVILY ORIENTED TO CONCERNS OF NATIONAL SECURITY AND SELF-SUFFICIENCY.

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5. CONSEQUENTLY, THE PERCEPTION OF U.S. POLICY SUFFERS. THE USG'S GLOBAL INTENT TO CONSTRUCT AN EVOLUTIONARY NUCLEAR REGIME PLAYS HERE AS A CONSPIRACY TO DENY TO PAKISTAN THAT WHICH OTHERS, PARTICULARLY INDIA BUT ALSO ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA, SEEM ALREADY TO POSSESS. WE SHOULD BE UNDER NO ILLUSIONS THAT THIS CONFLICT IN PERCEPTIONS WILL BE REDUCED. NUCLEAR ENERGY IN RESOURCE-POOR PAKISTAN IS A VERY REAL NEED. HOWEVER, IT IS ALSO, AND EQUALLY A CHIMERA FOR A VERY DELIBERATE AND SERIOUS EFFORT TO ASSERT SOME SORT OF NUCLEAR PARITY WITH INDIA; CONSISTENTLY, THE GOP HAS, AND WILL IN THE FUTURE, WORKED TO ENSURE THAT ITS NUCLEAR OPTIONS ARE NOT CONSTRAINED; IT IS NOT VERY LIKELY TO MODERATE ITS GOALS UNLESS AN EQUAL STEP IS TAKEN BY INDIA, AN UNLIKELY SCENARIO NOW, AS EARLIER. THEREFORE, EVEN WITH THE PROMINENCE HERE RECENTLY OF MORE IMMEDIATELY PRESSING GEOPOLITICAL CONCERNS, OVER THE LONGER TERM WE ARE NOT SANGUINE THAT THE FUNDAMENTAL CONFLICT OVER NUCLEAR ISSUES BETWEEN THE USG AND THE GOP WILL DIMISH.

6. THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS ARE ANSWERS KEYED TO THE QUESTIONS RAISED IN PARA 3 OF REFTTEL.

A. THE PUBLIC AND OFFICIAL PERCEPTION THAT THE U.S. IS INTENT UPON THWARTING PAKISTAN'S LEGITIMATE NUCLEAR AMBITIONS HAS NOT CHANGED MARKEDLY DESPITE THE WIDELY REPORTED WILLINGNESS ON THE PART OF THE USG TO SEEK AN EXEMPTION FOR PAKISTAN FROM THE EFFECTS OF THE SYMINGTON AMENDMENT. IN FACT, THE FAILURE OF THE THE U.S. AND THE GOP TO REACH AGREEMENT ON A SUTIABLE AID PACKAGE MAY EVEN HAVE INCREASED THE SUSPICIONS OF SOME THAT THE NUCLEAR IMPASSE CONTINUES TO GOVERN ALL RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO NATIONS.

B. THE RISK OF PROLIFERATION HAS AT BEST BEEN STABILIZED. WITHOUT AN ACTIVE POLICY ON THE PART OF THE U.S. PAKISTAN TODAY WOULD PROBABLY BE CLOSER TO EXPLODING A DEVICE; ON THE OTHER HAND, U.S. POLICY HAS FORCED SOME REDIRECTION OF PAKISTANI EFFORTS INTO ALTERNATIVE MEANS OF ACCESS TO NUCLEAR-WEAPONS-USABLE MATERIAL THAT HAVE BECOME MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE U.S. TO CONTROL. MORE DISTURBINGLY, IN A SITUATION IN WHICH OUR POLITICAL RELATIONS WITH THE GOP CONTINUE TO LANGUISH, WE HAVE DIMINISHING POSSIBILITIES FOR AFFECTING PAKISTAN'S CALCULATION OF ITS BASIC NATIONAL INTERESTS AND NATIONAL SECURITY NEEDS.

C. PARAS 2-5 ANSWER THIS QUESTION.

D. THIS QUESTION IS NOT DIRECTLY RELEVANT TO PAKISTAN, AS WE DO NOT COOPERATE IN THE NUCLEAR AREA. HOWEVER, WE DO CONTINUE TO COOPERATE WITH INDIA WITHIN THE CONFINES OF THE NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION ACT. THE

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PERCEPTION OF DISCRIMINATION IN THIS POSITION IS TAKEN AS FURTHER
EXAMPLE OF THE INCONSISTENCY IN U.S. POLICY AND OF
THE USG'S EFFORT TO SINGLE OUT PAKISTAN FOR SPECIAL
PUNITIVE TREATMENT.

7. DEPT MAY WISH TO REPEAT TO OTHER POSTS; WE HAVE
LIMITED DISTRIBUTION BECAUSE OF SENSITIVITY OF ISSUE. HUMMEL

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